2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
506 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
576 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
224 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest
425 relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed
[778] to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
804 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 **Childbirth.**—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on
[826] their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white.

Chapter II

THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extragenealogical social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the piercing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umana onareqedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

553 ready "grandfather" (iyedaga) by definition, while the sec-
604 ond kin type (FFSs) is brought into the same class by equiv-alences already presented:

FFSs → FFMs (by the skewing rule)
→ FFB (by the half sibling rule)
→ FF (by the merging rule)
∴ iyedaga (by definition)

Thus the naming rule should be written as: any senior matrilateral relative who is Ego's namegiver should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's senior patrilateral relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any junior sororifilial relative to whom Ego gave a name should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's junior fratrifilial relative.

304 The same rule applies also to the senior "brother" (MB,
604 MMB) who pierces the ear lobe of Ego. The rule was written
553 without specifying the sex of the namegiver. On some very
604 rare occasions a child's "older sister" (MS, MMS) will pro-
*[601] pose the name for him (her). If her suggestion is accepted,
*601 the child will call her imerugo ("grandmother"). There is
604 still another instance in which a person calls his "older
[846] sister" imerugo, and that is when this "sister" cuts the umbilical cord when the child is born, in absence of a woman belonging to the lineage or clan of the child's father, who normally have this prerogative. Reductions applied to her are:

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
819
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[844] [846] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224] duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
224 the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
261 ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
276
[515] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
593 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
827 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
846 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[824] only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
[252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291] white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
[292]

593 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither
846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
[854] this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
[856] speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of conti-
[302] nence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo
* [601] attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother from the category of genealogically connected relatives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

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846 121 In different ways people have tried to explain the couvade, the so-called post partum of the man, this very widespread custom, especially in South America, according which the father is obliged to lie down for whole days, not doing heavy work, and to abstain from many important foods. "Some authors consider the custom of the couvade, which is found among many primitive peoples, an intermediary degree between the matriarchal and the patriarchal family. This custom is regarded as an act /125/ symbolic of the public recognition of the paternity of the newborn child, although probably something religious co-operates in it too." (Illustrierte Völkerkunde, herausgegeben von Georg Buschan, /Illustrated Ethnology, edited by Georg Buschan/, 3. Auflage /3rd ed./, Stuttgart, 1922, t. I, p. 8.)

The results of more modern research indubitably show that the purpose of this custom is to protect from harm the child, who, in its early stages of life, is imagined to be in direct connection with the father, that is to say, as part of him. Today well-known ethnologists understand that the couvade signifies a precedence of the man, because the fact that certain customs are exclusively related to one sex proves, so they say, that this sex, by means of these customs, is placed above the other one.

846 Among the Bororo, father and mother fast for some days after the child's birth, not rarely, however, also up to two months, but both continue with their work. Consequently a true couvade did not exist among them. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 61) writes, concerning the fast: "For three or four days the mother abstains from meat, being content with some broths made with maize or roots and wild fruits, sweetened with wild honey, or sugar, if they are able to get it. It is customary for the husband to follow the diet of the woman in abstaining from meat; one can even say that his diet is stricter than that of the wife. He proceeds thus in order that the neonatus will grow strong and healthy and will be able to resist hunger and thirst without suffering."

/126/

846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [17] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the [825] woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "streng" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

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[843]
is not even tied off. The thing is not so strange if the mother is thought of as merely an incubator. Even during the pregnancy (see Ploss, Das Kind /The Child/, II, Ch. 7) the father fasts frequently and avoids heavy work, so as not to harm the child. After birth, however, at least until the moment when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off, he still feels in actual "connection" with the child, and at least during the days when the life of the little father seems obviously in danger, a diet must be observed and nothing eaten that does not agree with the one part. Nor is it by any means absolutely necessary that the confinement take place in the presence of the father in order to force him to fast, and hence the need for his presence cannot be the ultimate reason for the custom. As was quoted, the Island Karaiben observed their couvade even a month later. Among the Ipurina on the Purus the woman, assisted by a few older women, gives birth in a forest hut and returns only "four or five days later" to her husband, who only now may see the child and who was obliged to adhere to a strict diet during this time." For an entire year yet the husband may not eat either pig or tapir meat. Ehrenreich, who reports this, adds: "a real 'men's childbed' is not customary." Well, but probably not only insofar as the father need not lie in the hammock, which, even though it is not merely a secondary phenomenon, is in any case one of least important prescriptions of the treatment. Even the Indian knows that improper nourishment is first of all harmful for the child, and therefore the most important thing is to follow a diet. Everything
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[844]
else is more or less only an accessory. Finally, the behavior of
[846]
the Bororó is decisive. The mother gives birth in the forest, and the father, who is never present, not only fasts, but, if the child is sick, also takes the medicine that is handed to him for the child, as we learned from the druggist of the Brazilian military colony, who was greatly surprised over this.

While the procedure for the father is the same in all the tribes, the conduct of the mother may be very different, depending on whether she is regarded as more or less ailing. She goes back to her duties again insofar as she feels strong enough and nurses the child, but that suffices. There is no mysterious correspondence

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627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
● 846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat,
[844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the
[515] forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip
[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
● 846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambicuara. The grandparents then give the child a
[553] name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
[855] potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat. Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
[301 herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
[431] The family then invites the villagers to a feast. The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]